

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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R 021753Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1454

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

USMISSION NATO

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 2198

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO, SP

SUBJECT: SPANISH VIEWS ON PORTUGUESE SITUATION

1. DIRECTOR FOR IBERIAN AFFAIRS LUKENS, ACCOMPANIED BY EMBOFF LEE, CALLED ON MFA DIRECTOR FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DEL PINO APR 1, TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL. DEL PINO REPORTED THAT GOS WAS UNDER IMPRESSION THAT U.S. WAS PUSHING EUROPEANS TO INTEREST THEMSELVES IN PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS AND TAKE ACTION TO INFLUENCE THEM NOT ONLY FOR OBVIOUS REASONS OF GEOGRAPHICAL PROPINQUITY BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT WOULD ALLOW U.S. TO FOLLOW SOMEWHAT SEPARATE STRATEGY IN RELATIONS WITH LISBON. LUKENS REASSURED HIM THAT U.S. BELIEVED EUROPEANS HAD MAJOR STAKE IN PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS AND, THEREFORE, SHOULD PLAY ROLE IN MONITORING AND, IF POSSIBLE, INFLUENCING PORTUGUESE INTERNAL SITUATION BUT THIS WAS ONLY PART OF OVERALL ATLANTIC AND ALLIANCE STRATEGY TO WHICH U.S. WAS COMMITTED. SECOND  
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PART OF GOS' ASSUMPTION THEREFORE WAS INCORRECT AND U.S.

WAS NEITHER IN POSITION NOR INCLINED TO PLAY A SEPARATE GAME.

2. DEL PINO REPORTED THAT GOS HAD NOTED IN INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS WITH PORTUGUESE CITIZENS IN PORTUGAL THAT THEY WERE CONFIDENT THAT U.S. AND USSR BETWEEN THEM WOULD NOT ALLOW PORTUGAL TO GO ALL THE WAY TO LEFT FOR STRATEGIC REASONS OF DETENTE. LARGE NUMBERS OF PORTUGUESE FELT, THEREFORE, THAT THEY NEED NOT INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN POLITICS BECAUSE, AS A MATTER OF COURSE, EVERYTHING WOULD WORK OUT ALL RIGHT. ACCORDING TO DEL PINO, THIS COMPLACENCY WAS EXTREMELY DISTURBING AND COULD INFLUENCE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS, IF THEY TAKE PLACE, INSOFAR AS IT MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO A HIGH DEGREE OF ABSTENTIONISM. LUKENS REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN U.S. AND USSR ON PORTUGAL, THAT THE U.S. WAS INDEED CONCERNED BY THE DRIFT TO THE LEFT AND THAT THE PORTUGUESE SHOULD SHAKE THEMSELVES OUT OF THEIR COMPLACENCY AND REALIZE THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION.

3. DEL PINO REPORTED THAT BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL CONTINUED TO FUNCTION IN A GENERALLY FRIENDLY MANNER, DESPITE AN INCREASING NUMBER OF IRRITANTS. SPINOLA AND ALL HIS 17 FELLOW REFUGEES HAD LEFT SPAIN FOR SOUTH AMERICA, AND GOS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY MADE SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS FOR RETURN OF FOUR HELICOPTERS INCLUDING WEAPONS, WHICH SPINOLA GROUP HAD USED TO FLEE FROM PORTUGAL TO TALAVERA LA REAL. HELICOPTERS HAD BEEN QUARANTINED UNTIL A PORTUGUESE MILITARY AIRCRAFT WITH NEW CREWS ARRIVED SOME 10 DAYS AFTER ABORTIVE COUP TO RETURN THEM TO PORTUGAL. BORDER OFFICIALS OF BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE CONTINUED TO HAVE FRIENDLY CONTACTS INCLUDING MEALS TOGETHER. OFFICIAL BILATERAL COMMISSIONS DEALING WITH BORDER MATTERS, E.G., WATER AND POWER EXCHANGES, CONTINUED TO MEET AS SCHEDULED AND DO THEIR BUSINESS WITHOUT DIFFICULTY. ON OTHER HAND, GOS HAD NOTED SHARP INCREASE OF ANTI-SPANISH PROPAGANDA IN PORTUGUESE MEDIA.

4. PORTUGAL AND NATO. DEL PINO SAID HE THOUGHT THAT PLATEAU OF PORTUGUESE PATIENCE AND INDULGENCE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH NATO WAS RELATIVELY HIGH AND PORTUGUESE CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD PUT UP WITH A LOT BEFORE BREAKING OFF. NATO TIE WAS USEFUL TO AFM AT MOMENT AND PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO SOVIETS WHO OBVIOUSLY HAD NO INTEREST IN HAVING PORTUGAL SEPARATED FROM NATO BECAUSE OF ITS USEFULNESS AS A DISRUPTIVE FACTOR WITHIN ALLIANCE.

5. INTERNAL AFFAIRS. GOS HAD CONCLUDED THAT RECENT CABINET CHANGES IN PORTUGAL AMOUNTED TO PUTTING ECONOMY

IN HANDS OF COMMUNISTS OR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS. SPANISH  
MFA AGREED WITH LUKENS' COMMENT THAT REPLACEMENT OF SOARES  
WITH ANTUNES MIGHT GRADUALLY LEAD TO CHANGING OF THE  
GUARD IN PORTUGUESE MFA AND FOREIGN SERVICE.

6. ACCORDING TO DEL PINO, GOS BELIEVED RECENT PORTUGUESE  
DEVELOPMENTS REPRESENTED DEFINITE LEFTWARD DRIFT, BUT ALL  
WAS NOT LOST. SPANISH THOUGHT IT WOULD NOT BE OPPORTUNE  
AT PRESENT TO EXERT EXCESSIVE PRESSURE OR USE FORCE TO TRY  
TO INFLUENCE INTERNAL PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS, BUT RATHER  
TO PLAY ON FEW ASSETS WE DID HAVE AVAILABLE TO US.  
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